

Message Text

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 00222 01 OF 03 052116Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 0222

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IN, US
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT TO INDIA: JANUARY 1-3, 1978

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE SETS FORTH A BRIEF RECORD OF PRESIDENT
CARTER'S VISIT TO INDIA, JANUARY 1-3, 1978. THE HIGHLIGHTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 00222 01 OF 03 052116Z

OF HIS BUSY SCHEDULE ARE OUTLINED, AND THE CONTENT OF THE
BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IS SUMMARIZED. THESE TALKS INCLUDED
DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE INDIAN OCEAN NE-
GOTIATIONS, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN OF AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA,
RELATIONS WITH CHINA, NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, INDO-AMERICAN
NUCLEAR COOPERATION, COOPERATION IN AGRICULTURAL AND ENERGY
RESEARCH, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GANGES AND BRAHMAPUTRA

RIVER SYSTEMS, COOPERATION BETWEEN US AND INDIAN INDUSTRY, AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT. THE ATMOSPHERE THROUGHOUT THE VISIT WAS FRIENDLY, AND THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION BY THE INDIAN PUBLIC WAS ENTHUSIASTIC. THE DETERMINATION OF PRIME MINISTER DESAI AND HIS COLLEAGUES NOT TO ALLOW THE DISCLOSURE OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY ON THE NUCLEAR QUESTION TO SOUR THE ATMOSPHERE IS A TESTIMONIAL TO THE GOOD WILL THAT PREVAILED. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PRESIDENT ESTABLISHED AN EXCELLENT PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. THE EDITORIAL COMMENT, IN THE WAKE OF THE VISIT, WHILE GENERALLY REFLECTING THE ATMOSPHERE DESCRIBED ABOVE, ALSO EXPRESSED SOME RESERVATIONS. FOR THE MOST PART, THESE FOCUSED ON THE DIFFERENCES IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD. END SUMMARY

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

1. JANUARY 1:

(A) AT HIS ARRIVAL AT PALAM AIRPORT, NEW DELHI, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER WERE GREETED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. SANJIVA REDDY, PRIME MINISTER MORAJI DESAI, FOREIGN MINISTER ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE, OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, CHIEFS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, AND OFFICERS OF THE EMBASSY. THE CEREMONIAL PORTION OF THE ARRIVAL INCLUDED A 21-GUN SALUTE, THE PLAYING OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS OF BOTH COUNTRIES, AND A REVIEW OF THE TROOPS. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 00222 01 OF 03 052116Z

WELCOMING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT REDDY AND PRESIDENT CARTER.

(B) SHORTLY AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL AT THEIR SUITE IN THE RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN (THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA), PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER PAID A FORMAL CALL ON PRESIDENT REDDY AND HIS FAMILY.

(C) ARRIVING AT THE RAMLILA GROUNDS (USED FOR LARGE PUBLIC EVENTS) IN THE LATE AFTERNOON, THE PRESIDENT WAS ACCORDED A CIVIC RECEPTION BY OVER 300,000 PEOPLE. HE WAS WELCOMED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, THE MAYOR OF DELHI, AND THE DEPUTY MAYOR EACH OF WHOM ADDRESSED THE ASSEMBLAGE IN HINDI. THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WAS TRANSLATED INTO HINDI.

(D) ON HIS RETURN FROM THE CIVIC RECEPTION TO RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN THE PRESIDENT MET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER FOR A FORTY-FIVE MINUTE PRIVATE DISCUSSION.

2. JANUARY 2:

(A) THE SECOND DAY OF THE VISIT BEGAN AT 9:00 A.M. WITH A PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER

AT RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN. AFTER ABOUT THIRTY-FIVE MINUTES, THE TWO PRINCIPALS WERE JOINED BY THE SENIOR MEMBERS OF THEIR STAFFS FOR THE "EXPANDED BILATERAL TALKS".

(B) SHORTLY BEFORE NOON, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER LAID A WREATH AT RAJGHAT, THE MEMORIAL TO GANDHI. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE COMMUNITY (INCLUDING EMBASSY INDIAN EMPLOYEES AND AMERICAN EMBASSY SCHOOL CHILDREN) IN FRONT OF THE CHANCERY. THE PRESIDENT SPOKE AND A CHORAL GROUP FROM DUBUQUE, IOWA, THE CLARK-LORAS SINGERS, ENTERTAINED.

(C) A WORKING LUNCH WAS HELD AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE WITH PRIME MINISTER AS THE PRINCIPAL GUEST.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 NEW DE 00222 01 OF 03 052116Z

(D) PRESIDENT CARTER THEN DELIVERED HIS MAJOR ADDRESS TO A CAPACITY AUDIENCE AT THE CENTRAL HALL OF PARLIAMENT. IN ATTENDANCE WERE CURRENT AND PAST MP'S, SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE GOI, AND OTHER DIGNITARIES. THE PRIME MINISTER INTRODUCED THE PRESIDENT, AND FOLLOWING PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECH, THE SPEAKER OF THE LOK SABHA, K.S. HEGDE, DELIVERED A SHORT SPEECH OF THANKS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 00222 02 OF 03 052100Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 NEW DELHI 0222

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

(E) THE NEXT EVENT WAS A STATE BANQUET AT RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN HOSTED IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER BY THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE DINNER PRESIDENT REDDY AND PRSIDENT CARTER EXCHANGED TOASTS. THE EVENING CONCLUDED WITH A CULTURAL PRESENTATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 00222 02 OF 03 052100Z

3. JANUARY 3:

(A) PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROGRAM FOR THE FINAL DAY OF HIS VISIT BEGAN IN THE EARLY MORNING WITH A VISIT TO DAULATPUR-NASIRABAD, A TYPICAL VILLAGE IN NEAR-BY HARYANA STATE. THE PRIME MINISTER ACCOMPANIED THE PRESIDENT IN THE RIDE TO AND FROM THE VILLAGE, AND THIS AFFORDED THEM AND ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO CONVERSE. IN ADDITION TO THE TWO PRINCIPALS, A FEW SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF AND SEVERAL INDIAN MINISTERS ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE VISIT.

(B) WHILE THE VISIT TO THE VILLAGE WAS TAKING PLACE, SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE PARTICIPATED IN A MEETING OF THE INDO-AMERICAN JOINT COMMISSION. A MEMORANDUM WAS SIGNED PROVIDING FOR A LANDSAT STATION IN INDIA.

(C) ON THEIR RETURN TO RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN, PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRIME MINISTER DESAI SIGNED THE DELHI DECLARATION, A DOCUMENT SETTING FORTH THE COMMITMENT OF BOTH NATIONS TO WORK FOR WORLD PEACE, DISARMAMENT AND THE FURTHERANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CEREMONY WAS INCLUDED BRIEF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT.

(D) THE FINALE OF THE VISIT WAS A FORMAL DEPARTURE CEREMONY AT PALAM AIRPORT. THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS WERE PLAYED, THE PRESIDENT INSPECTED THE HONOR GUARD, THERE WAS A 21-GUN SALUTE, AND AIR FORCE ONE TOOK OFF FOR RIYADH AT 2:00 P. M. (LOCAL TIME).

BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS:

4. IN THE EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETINGS, THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER DESAI ENGAGED IN BROAD DISCUSSIONS OF GLOBAL ISSUES.

(A) THE PRESIDENT INFORMED DESAI OF THE PRESENT STATE OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND ASKED FOR THE INDIAN ASSESSMENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 00222 02 OF 03 052100Z

OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. THE INDIANS WERE SKEPTICAL THAT MUCH PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN THE SSOD BEFORE SALT AND CTB ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE. NON-PROLIFERATION WAS ALSO DISCUSSED AND THE INDIANS EMPHASIZED THEIR CONCERN THAT CHINA BE INVOLVED.

(B) THE INDIANS DID NOT RESPOND TO THE PRESIDENT'S BRIEF DISCUSSION THE INDIAN OCEAN NEGOTIATIONS AND DID NOT MENTION DIEGO GARCIA. THERE WAS COVERAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN OF AFRICA (BOTH SIDES EMPHASIZED THEY WERE NOT SUPPLYING WEAPONS) AND SOUTH AFRICA WHERE THE INDIANS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF BRINGING PRESSURE ON IAN SMITH. IN HIS DISCUSSION OF SINO-INDO MATTERS, DESAI NOTED LITTLE SIGN OF MOVEMENT AND WELCOMED US TIES WITH CHINA. DESAI VOICED SUPPORT OF THE PANAMA KANAL TREATIES. IN A NUMBER OF INSTANCES DESAI EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN BRINGING ABOUT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER GOALS.

(C) IN THE DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH MATTERS, PRESIDENT CARTER EXPLAINED OUR CURRENT POLICY AND OUR CONCERN THAT EXCESSIVE RHETORIC BY THE LDCS WOULD MAKE IT HARD FOR US TO KARRY THROUGH ON OUR HOPES IN THIS AREA. DESAI RESPONDED BY STRESSING SELF-RELIANCE AND THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. HE, TOO, SAW RHETORIC AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND WAS SKEPTICAL OF A LARGE UN ROLE.

(D) DISCUSSIONS ON NUCLEAR MATTERS WERE HELD MAINLY IN PRIVATE. THEY WERE FRANK AND EACH SIDE SET FORTH ITS POSITION. THE DOOR WAS KEPT OPEN, HOWEVER, FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO RECOMMEND AN ADDITIONAL SHIPMENT OF ENRICHED URANIUM FOR THE TARAPUR REACTOR AND OFFERED TO PROVIDE INDIA WITH HEAVY WATER.

(E) THE PRESIDENT PRESENTED THE PRIME MINISTER WITH A MODEL OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE, ON WHICH INDIA HAS RESERVED SPACE FOR ONE OF ITS SATELLITES. THE PRESIDENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 00222 02 OF 03 052100Z

AND THE PRIME MINISTER LAID EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 00222 03 OF 03 052105Z

ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 NEW DELHI 0222

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RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND THIS TOPIC, ALONG WITH ENERGY
RESEARCH, WAS HIGHLIGHTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE
INDIAN PARLIAMENT. THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GANGES AND BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER SYSTEMS
TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE GENERATION OF
HYDROELECTRICAL POWER PRODUCTION THERE. THE INDIANS EX-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 00222 03 OF 03 052105Z

PRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN OVER DEVELOPING PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT IN THE WEST. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DEVELOPING MECHANISMS THAT WOULD PERMIT SOME INTEGRATION OF SMALL-SCALE INDIAN INDUSTRY WITH LARGE AMERICAN INDUSTRIES. THE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT MANY BUSINESSMEN FELT INDIA DID NOT WANT FOREIGN INVESTMENT. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION OF THIS, IT WAS AGREED THAT COMMERCE SECRETARY KREPS SHOULD VISIT INDIA TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM.

(F) FINALLY, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BILATERAL INDO-U.S. TALKS WHICH HAD BEEN HELD ANNUALLY AT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY LEVEL WOULD BE RESUMED. THE PRESIDENT INVITED PRIME MINISTER DESAI TO VISIT THE U.S. AND THE INVITATION WAS WARMLY ACCEPTED.

THE ATMOSPHERE DURING THE VISIT

5. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WAS MARKED BY A DISPLAY OF GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. THE RECEPTION ACCORDED THE PRESIDENT BY THE INDIANS WHO LINED THE STREETS AS HE DROVE BETWEEN THE AIRPORT AND RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN WAS ENTHUSIASTIC. THE WELCOME HE RECEIVED AT THE RAMLILA GROUNDS WAS IMPRESSIVE BY ANY STANDARD. DESPITE THE BARRIER OF LANGUAGE, HIS REITERATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS WAS WELL UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED. FOR ITS PART THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WENT TO GREAT LENGTHS TO MAKE THE VISIT A SUCCESS. EVEN THE SINGLE INCIDENT THAT THREATENED TO MARR THE VISIT, THE RECORDING OF THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY ON THE INDIAN POSITION ON FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS, WAS HANDLED DEFTLY BY THE INDIAN SIDE. THE INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY JOINED PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN JODY POWELL IN DEFUSING THE PROBLEM, AND THE PRIME MINISTER MADE A PUBLIC POINT OF DECLARING THAT HE WAS NOT UPSET. THE RESPONSE OF THE INDIANS TO THIS INCIDENT, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 00222 03 OF 03 052105Z

THAT IT DID NOT SOUR THE ATMOSPHERE TESTIFIES TO THE GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP CREATED BY THE VISIT. INDIANS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN, WERE UNIFORMLY IMPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT'S SINCERITY, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT HE ESTABLISHED AN EXCELLENT PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH PRIME MINISTER DESAI AND THE OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE GOI WITH WHOM HE CAME IN CONTACT.

EDITORIAL REACTION

6. THE GENERAL WARMTH OF THE PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE VISIT WAS REFLECTED IN MOST NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS, BUT

EDITORIALISTS ALSO EXPRESSED A VARYING DEGREE SOME RESERVATIONS. A NUMBER OF EDITORIALS STRESSED THE WARMTH OF THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND VIEWED THE VISIT AS SYMBOLIZING THE END TO THE "TILT", THE US RECOGNITION OF THE "PRE-EMINENCE" OF INDIA IN THE SUBCONTINENT, AND THE SHARED IDEALS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE "STATESMAN", FOR INSTANCE, CALLED THE VISIT AN "HISTORIC" ONE, IMPORTANT FOR THE SINCERITY OF THE EXPRESSIONS OF GOOD WILL. THE NUCLEAR ISSUE RECEIVED THE MOST SPECIFIC ATTENTION, WITH ALL EDITORIALS ENDORSING THE GOI POSITION. AS TO BE EXPECTED, THE PRO-MOSCOW "PATRIOT" CONDEMNED THE U.S. NUCLEAR POSITION AND TERMED THE VISIT IN CONSEQUENCE A "FLOP". ALMOST AS HARDLINE, HOWEVER, WAS THE "TIMES OF INDIA" WHICH IN TWO EDITORIALS CHARACTERIZED THE NUCLEAR DISPUTE AS GOING TO THE "VERY CORE" OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND THUS CHOSE TO CALL THE VISIT "NOT MUCH OF A SUCCESS." OTHER EDITORIALS HAD A BROADER PERSPECTIVE OF THE VISIT AND ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND THOUGHT THAT THE OFFER OF ANOTHER TARAPUT FUELED SHIPMENT AND OF HEAVY WATER HAD BEEN "ENOUGH FOR THE MOMENT." THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP WAS CALLED BY THE "HINDUSTAN TIMES" A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS WHICH WAS APPLICABLE NOT ONLY TO INDIA BUT ALSO TO ALL THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. THE "ECONOMIC TIMES", THE "HINDU", AND THE "INDIAN EXPRESS", WERE IMPRESSED BY THE AREAS OF COOPERATION ENUMERATED BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 00222 03 OF 03 052105Z

SPEECH BUT WERE ALSO MILDLY CRITICAL OF THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. THE DELHI DECLARATION WAS DESCRIBED BY ONE PAPER AS "AN IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR UNITY IN THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY," AND SEVERAL NOTED IN THIS CONTEXT THE STRONG FOUNDATION OF SHARED MORAL VALUES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. CRITICISM OF THE DECLARATION AS GENERALIZED RHETORIC CAME FROM A FEW WHO MISINTERPRETED THE PURPOSE OF THE DECLARATION BY LOOKING UPON IT, NOT AS A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, BUT AS A RECORD OF THE TALKS THEMSELVES. IN SUM, THE SATISFACTION ON THE PART OF THE PRESS WITH THE GENERAL TENOR OF THE VISIT WAS TEMPERED BY AN AWARENESS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF SPECIFIC DISPUTES SUCH AS THE NUCLEAR ONE. THIS WAS BEST SUMMED UP BY A "HINDUSTAN TIMES" COMMENT: "MR. CARTER'S DELHI VISIT HAS BEEN AN OCCASION FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO COMMON IDEALS WHICH, WHEN TIES WEAKEN, ARE HOWEVER, THE FIRST TO BE FORGOTTEN." GOHEEN

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